Bilingual Intercultural Education in Peru

- Opportunities and Challenges

Author: Maria Björk
Tutor: Maria Borgström
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ABSTRACT

Offering basic education is the greatest investment the world can make in its future. Basic education improves live opportunity for people and also give them a chance to form a better life for them selves. Too many of Peru’s inhabitants live in extreme poverty and education could help the country improve this situation. In addition, in the rural areas of Peru a lot of people speak another language than Spanish as their mother tongue. The purpose of this thesis is to get a more profound knowledge about matters concerning Bilingual Intercultural Education in Peru.

The research question has been what issues can be found, involving EBI education in Peru; opportunities and challenges? I have researched this through interviews with people working in the rural areas combined with a literature study. I visited schools in the area of Cusco and Anchonga. In Cusco the school did not have EBI education and in Anchonga the visited school did have. Some of the findings made are that it is important for the people involved such as parents, principals and teachers to be supportive of EBI education to make it work. It is also a challenge to find teachers who know the method and are bilingual. Many schools are in addition dependent of support from non-governmental organizations, which are an opportunity and a challenge. Important is also to make some teachers and parents believe that EBI education is not against the social development of the country.

Keywords: bilingual education, bilingual intercultural education, Peru and MFS.
THESIS GLOSSARY

**Minority language** is defined as a less powerful language, rather than a less frequent language. In this thesis Quechua is the minority and less powerful languages.

**Majority language** is defined as a powerful language, rather than more frequent. In this thesis Spanish is the majority language.

**Bilingual** refers to individuals who have access to two or more distinct linguistic codes. In this case Quechua and Spanish.

**Bilingual schooling** refers to any system of education in which, at a given point in time and for a varying length of time, simultaneously or consecutively, instruction is given in two languages.

**EBI** Educación Bilingüe Intercultural / Bilingual Intercultural Education, promotes the maintenance of indigenous languages alongside the teaching of a second language (Spanish), as well as the acceptance and respect of cultural difference.

**EBI schools** Bilingual Intercultural Schools

**First language, L1** refers to the *mother tongue*. I will in this essay refer to Quechua as first language, mother tongue.

**Second language or L2** refers more generally to the acquisition of a language that is not the primary, native, or mother tongue of the learner. In this thesis the second language is Spanish.

**Extreme poverty** living on less than US$ 1 per day

**Non-governmental organization (NGO)** is any non-profit, voluntary citizens' group which is organized on a local, national or international level.
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1. Introduction

At the United Nations Millennium Summit in 2000, 189 heads of state and governments promised to work together to make the world a better place for all by 2015. On behalf of their people, they signed the Millennium Declaration which promises to free men, women and children from the dehumanizing situations of extreme poverty and make the right to development a reality for one and all. Providing children a basic education is the greatest investment the world can make in its future. Education reduces poverty by providing everyone with choices and opportunities to form a better life for themselves. Without universal primary education, no real progress can be made regarding the remaining Millennium goals. Educated women have fewer children, get medical help sooner and provide better care and nutrition for their offspring. This reduces hunger, infant and maternal mortality, the spread of HIV/AIDS, and environmental damage. (www.un.org/cyberschoolbus, 2006-09-01)

I have chosen to conduct my empirical gathering in Peru, a country where a large part of the population suffers from poor living standards. Peru is one of three countries in Latin America where the indigenous constitute the majority ethnic group. The second largest group is the Meztises, a mixture between European and indigenous origin. There is a large gap between different ethnic groups in Peru. There is a traditional elite with Spanish origin, and at the bottom of the social scale are the indigenous. Depending on ethnic belonging there is a large difference in opportunities presented in society, even though the barriers have changed and are becoming more floating, especially in the costal cities. Spanish is the dominate language and Quechua is the largest indigenous language. Quechua is spoken, as Aymará, by the native inhabitants in the Andean highlands. Most of the native speakers of Quechua are illiterate. There are more than 80 other smaller languages and dialects in Peru. Many children in Peru are bilingual. (www.ui.se, 2006-08-28)

In Peru children start school at the age of six, and the school is compulsory for eleven years. About nine, out of ten, children begin school, furthermore only six out of ten start secondary school, an improvement from the late 1990s. The standards in state run schools are poor. Especially in the rural areas there is a lack of educated teachers, schools and material. The reading and writing ability have increased recently, but there are still large differences between the rural and urban areas, and between men and women. (Ibid, 2006-08-28)
Peru has already achieved a mass education system almost of a developed-country standard, in terms of coverage. However, there are problems related to quality and for some reason the gap between enrolment and achievement levels is high. A study made by the World fund concludes that Peru’s quality rankings are extremely low: ranked on 124th out of 125 countries. For the quality of its math and science education, it ranked again 124th out of 125, ahead only of East Timor, and for the quality of its public schools, Peru ranked absolutely last. In addition, Peru only spends three percent of its Gross Domestic Product on education. The country financed its expanded access to education by reducing its spending per student, and especially by reducing teacher salaries. Furthermore, in 2007, Peru’s first national evaluation of teachers revealed that only 50% of the 180,000 teachers tested could solve simple math problems and only 1.5% could solve complex problems. A mere 24.3% had the reading comprehension abilities required for teaching. (www.worldfund.org, 2007-03-19)

Learning inequality is to a significant degree associated with sociological, managerial, and pedagogical factors such as the lack of an effective pedagogical model and standards of reaching a student whose first language is not Spanish. The result is that underprivileged children receive education of a more variable quality and this depends on the random personal devotion or skill of teachers or principals, and on the fact that there is greater variability in language spoken at home among the poor than among the rich. How to solve the problem of quality, and particularly quality among the poor and bilingual is, then, the main task. A main hypothesis is that there is a lack of standards, and a lack of accountability pressure and systems built around learning, applicable particular to the poor and multilingual. For example, there is no scientifically proven and consensually accepted approach to bilingual education. This lack of standards thus hurts the underprivileged most of all. (World Bank Staff. New Social Contract for Peru : An Agenda for Improving Education, Health Care, and the Social Safety Net. Herndon, VA, USA: World Bank, The, 2006. http://site.ebrary.com/lib/sodertorn, 2006-08-28)

Many Swedish pupils have a bilingual background, e.g. the Laplanders in northern Sweden, and pupils with different ethnic background. The supplementary teacher training program at Södertörn University College has an intercultural profile and due to that fact I attend the program. It is essential for teachers to understand different backgrounds and outlooks to be able to interpret, understand and respect other perspectives and at the same time question and
process their own ethnocentrism. The society is getting more multicultural and heterogenic, people move to different countries because of reasons such as work, catastrophes, war, climate, economical circumstances or love. A lot of education and institutions are still monocultural and nationalistic even though the world has changed and become more heterogenic and chaotic. It is a problem that we have a national school with national values consisting of post-national pupils that belong to, and have roots in different cultures, and thus a multicultural identity. (Lahdenperä (ed), 2004, p. 11ff)

1.1 Purpose
The purpose of this thesis is to get a more profound knowledge about matters concerning EBI education in Peru. In the rural areas in Peru a lot of people speak another language than Spanish as their mother tongue. The world fund has stated that bilingual schooling is important. In addition, education is important to improve living standards for a country according to the United Nations. Too many of Peru’s inhabitants live in extreme poverty and education could help the country improve this situation. I would like to research how people working in the rural areas look upon EBI education.

1.1.1 Research Question
What issues can be found, involving EBI education in Peru; opportunities and challenges?

1.1.2 Delimitations
Factors on societal level, group level and individual level influence how bilingualism and interculturality are looked upon in a society. In this thesis I will focus my empirical gathering on the individual level. Furthermore, there exist a lot of different languages in Peru and I will limit myself to areas with Quechua and Spanish. I have also limited myself to the answers given by the respondents about how they look upon the issue and I have not examined witch method each and every respondent is using. Thus, my research is built upon how the respondents perceive the issue.
2. Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework is based on literature and prior research regarding language and EBI education with focus on developing countries. Information on the special conditions and history in Peru will also be presented.

2.1 Language and Bilingualism

Through language people communicate with each other and also a lot of our cultural heritage comes from language and is spread through language use. (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981, p.11 f)

The language has a lot of different functions such as being a tool of communication, thinking realization and means of social interaction. Furthermore language creates and obtains culture. (Hyltenstam, Stroud, 1991, p. 33f) Language is a central aspect in the interaction between human beings and their social environment. Linguistics differs between language as systems of similar rules and language behavior, i.e. how people speak. In a global perspective most of today’s societies are multilingual and countries with only one spoken language are the exception. When a person does not understand or gets misunderstood he or she gets tired and frustrated and experience stress. (Laaksonen, 1999, p. 1) The connection between children’s language and their cognitive and cultural development is so close as to be indivisible. (Barnard, Glynn, 2003, p. 1)

For a long time bilingualism was seen as a negative phenomenon. Mostly it was the oppressed ethnic groups who had to learn a second language, to become bilingual. This point of view has not always been the case, for example the Victorian Romans learnt Greek. But in the 19th century the negative view became more common. Today a more open minded view is common globally, even though the entire negative attitude has not vanished. (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981, p. 69 f) There are a lot of definitions of bilingualism. Almost every new person who conducts research in the area has a new definition. Choice of definition is depending on the intention of the researcher, for example the definition could be based on language competence, language functionality or attitudes towards the language. (Ibid, p. 83f)

Laaksonen discusses that bilingualism is a cognitive phenomenon within the individual and a phenomenon within the family and in the society. How well a person masters a language is based on conditions such as educational access and if the person has people in its closes environment that speaks the language. This also impacts how well people master the second language. (Laaksonen, 1999, p. 1) When two languages are in contact in society, they may be
used to a different extent, in different domains and for different functions in a state of functional equilibrium. (Hamers, Blanc, 2000, p. 21)

*Additive bilingualism* is when a person learns a new language alongside with the other language. This happens when the learning of a new language is stable and when the person gets a lot of support in obtaining the other language. *Subtractive bilingualism* on the other hand is when a person learns a new language at the expense of the other language. This often occurs when the first spoken language is less well-looked upon than the other. (Hyltenstam, Stroud, 1991, p. 52) *Additive bilingualism* refers to the form of bilingualism that occurs when students add a second language to their intellectual tool-kit while continuing to develop their first language conceptually and academically. The linguistic and academic benefits of additive bilingualism for individual students provide an additional reason to support students in maintaining their first languages while they are acquiring a second language. Not only does maintenance of the first language help students to communicate with parents and grandparents in their families, and increase the collective linguistic competence of the entire society, it also enhances the intellectual and academic resources of individual bilingual students. Research data show that within a bilingual program, instructional time can be focused on developing students’ literacy skills in their primary language without adverse effects on the development of their literacy skills in their second language. (Cummins, 2000, p. 37ff)

### 2.2 Bilingual Education

Continued development of bilingual children’s two languages during schooling has shown positive results both in linguistic and educational development. (Cummins, 2000, p. 175 ff) According to Cummins it is important to have in mind that the central factor appears to be the extent to which the school is making a serious attempt to promote students first language literacy rather than the specific linguistic order in which reading is introduced. Similarly, the exact account of instructional time spent using each language is less important than the commitment of the program to develop strong biliteracy and bilingualism among students. (Ibid, p. 193) Cummins discusses that children and especially teenagers have a strong need to identify with or belong to a group. If a person feels that their language and culture are not accepted by teachers, classmates or the community, they are embarrassed and try to hide that they are from a different background. (Cummins, 1981, p. 14)
According to Cummins the following points appear to be relatively non-controversial among applied linguists.

- Bilingual programs for students from minority and majority language background have been implemented successfully in countries.
- Bilingual education, by itself, is not a cause for students’ underachievement.
- The development of literacy in two languages entails linguistic and possibly cognitive advantages for bilingual students.
- Significant positive relationships exist between the development of academic skills in first and second language.
- Conversational and academic registers of language skills are distinct and follow different development patterns. (Cummins, 2000, p. 202f)

Opponents of bilingual programs argue that limited second language proficient students were being denied access to both second language and academic advancement as a result of being instructed for part of the day in their first language. Proponents of bilingual education (see for example Ramíres 1992) discuss that first language instruction in the early grades was necessary to ensure that students understood academic content and experienced a successful start to their schooling. Reading and writing skills acquired initially through the first language provided a foundation upon which strong second language development could be built. (Ibid, p. 32)

2.3 Teaching and Bilingual Education

According to Cummins it is still uncommon for educators to encourage bilingual students to maintain and develop their home language and this is because teachers’ education programs and school systems have consistently ignored issues related to cultural and linguistic diversity and generally teachers training programs prepare their students to teach white, middle-class, monolingual and monocultural pupils. (Cummins, 2000, p. 6) Cummins states that when educators encourage culturally diverse students to develop the language and culture they bring from home and build on their prior experience, they, challenge the perception in the broader society that these attributes are inferior or worthless, jointly with their students,. When educators and culturally diverse parents turn out to be genuine partners in children’s education, this partnership repudiates the myth that culturally diverse parents are indifferent and don’t care about their children’s education. When classroom instructions support students to inquire critically into social issues affecting their lives (e.g., racism, environmental
deterioration, omissions of marginalized groups from official histories, etc.), students’ intelligence is activated in ways that could potentially challenge the societal status quo. Transformative pedagogy uses collaborative critical inquiry to enable students to analyze and understand the social realities of their own lives and of their communities. (Ibid, p. 246ff)

Cummins (2000), argues that the first culture should be valued in the classroom, and that the second culture should be thought explicitly, so that students can express themselves and cope in both cultures and languages. Serving teachers to acquire a repertoire of methods and activities for developing cultural interactions will support them in their role as intercultural communicators.

Benson, in her study of bilingual education and bilingual teachers in developing countries, taking Bolivia and Mozambique as case studies, is noting that parents and most sectors of society expect the school to provide the children with linguistic capital, meaning competence in the dominant language. (Brutt-Griffler, Varghese, (ed), 2004, p. 4) Benson discusses that bilingual schooling strengthens students’ self-esteem and enables identification with their culture, context and people. (Ibid, p. 121) Thinking creatively and outside of a colonial frame of reference could help developing countries avoid placing unrealistic demands on their bilingual teachers. (Ibid, p. 124) Bilingual teachers in development countries are expected to bridge the home-school culture gap. This gap is common in several contexts, but schools in developing countries can be particularly alien and alienating. The expressed purpose of colonial style education in the Bolivian context has long been assimilation of indigenous people into the Spanish language and culture. Bilingual, intercultural programs have the potential to combat these negative forces by promoting the home culture while teaching the second culture explicitly, and bilingual teachers are sometimes uniquely placed to make this instruction effective. Most bilingual teachers in development countries come from the same ethno linguistic group as their students, and many are from the same communities. This means that teachers and students automatically share a set of understandings upon which they can build in negotiating between home and school culture. Most bilingual teachers find that simply by speaking a language that the students and their parents understand, a closer and more understanding, relationship develops. (Ibid, p. 119)

Bilingual teachers themselves might be ambivalent regarding the place of the first language in formal schooling, having been exposed to hundreds of years of colonial belittlement of the indigenous language and culture. Like the rest of the society they have been exposed to other
language myths, such as the idea that the home language and culture must be pressed aside to make space/time for the new language. For teachers to be effective supporters, they require information and evidence regarding how and why bilingual programs works. (Ibid, p. 122f)

Benson suggest following for bilingual schooling:

- First and second language learning theory.
- Modeling of first and second language teaching methods, oral and written.
- Modeling of methods in intercultural instructions
- Second language and literacy skills
- First language and literacy proficiency, including pedagogical vocabulary
- Language and program assessment, including international studies of bilingual schooling, models and evaluations
- Study visits and/or practical internship at functioning bilingual schools
- Collaboration with parents and community members

(Ibid, p. 123f)

Benson discusses the pedagogical benefits such as comprehensible content area instruction and mother tongue language and literacy competence upon which to build L2 skills, have been demonstrated again and again even in economically limited contexts. Similarly, there is evidence of other benefits such as increased pride in the home language and culture, higher self-esteem, improved girls’ participation, greater classroom interaction, and many other desirable schooling outcomes. (Ibid, p.255)

2.4 Common Problems in the Implementation of Multilingual Education

Stroud (2002) discusses some common problems in the implementation of multilingual education.

- **Ethical issues in the provision of programs**
  Language provision for some minority languages is not a viable option for various reasons, especially for those communities that have undergone an extensive language shift, the elementary levels of linguistic competence among community members may not be at a level sufficient for educational use. Even with massive input of revitalization efforts, it might prove difficult to reach the desired proficiency levels. (Stroud, 2002, p.73)
In addition, this concerns the issue of negative attitudes on behalf of community members towards the use of local languages in formal systems of education. (Stroud, 2002, p.74)

- **Cost affordable**
  The question of cost affordable cannot be seen apart from the aims of multilingual language provisions. In a lot of cases, the minority language has not been standardized and described, there do not exist written materials which are expansive to produce. (Ibid, p. 75 f)

- **Decision structures**
  In the practical implementation or delivery of language provisions for education, consideration should be given to the fact that implementation is not a simple technocratic execution of policy decisions, but in point of fact a political process in itself. It is challenging to implement a new idea into an already existing educational policy. (Ibid, p. 76)

- **Teacher training and job satisfaction**
  Different types of strategies that may increase job satisfaction in rural areas are needed, i.e. salaries and improved conditions. The teacher training programs also meet challenges such as how to educate enough bilingual teachers. In addition, there is a problem of mobility and language competence of the teachers already placed in the schools in the old system. (Ibid, p. 77)

- **Relevant applied language research**
  In many countries, the cultivation and development of local languages are of low priority and control few resources in national budgets. To revitalize and empower speakers of the languages concerned, it is of utmost importance to develop an applied linguistics discourse that is a joint construction of expert and speakers of the languages. (Ibid, p. 78)

- **Global discourses of multilingualism**
  One danger that may reduce the benefits of a multilingual education policy is that numerous policies seeming to promote diversity may in fact, serve to appropriate these policies in the service of global developments. The creation of a critical awareness, and a
continual attention that the benefactor of multilingual education is the marginalized community itself, should offset the more horrible consequences. However, one ought not to look suspiciously at all post-industrial developments, as the focus on productive diversity in relation to language in a world economy will in some cases have positive effects on local languages. (Ibid, p. 80)

2.4 Peruvian Language Policy in Historical Perspective

The information submitted here is from an article written by Maria Elena Garcia called, Rethinking Bilingual Education in Peru: Intercultural Politics, State Policy and Indigenous Rights. I do believe it is important for anyone reading my essay to have sufficient background information about Peruvian Language policy and that is why I have submitted her article.

As a result of the establishment of colonialism, Spanish replaced Quechua as the official language in Peru. Consequently, as a tool used for the establishment of colonial power, Quechua prevailed. Still, it existed as the language of the colonized peoples, a condition which placed it unequivocally below Spanish. Significantly, Quechua was subordinate to Spanish not only because Spanish was the language of the new rulers, but because it was an oral language. From the 16th century forward, there was a clear recognition of the central role of language in the maintenance of indigenous cultural identity. At first, colonial language policy favored the maintenance of Quechua, primarily because it was believed that maintaining the indigenous language would facilitate the transmission of Christianity. In addition, it was preferable for them to learn Quechua instead of indigenous learning Spanish because then they could maintain their control and privileged social and economic position over the indigenous. In the mid 17th century, during the region of Charles III, a drastic change in policy toward Spanish occurred and it was declared that Spanish should be compulsory and should be used to restrain indigenous languages and by extension, indigenous culture. However, administrators persisted to communicate with Quechua speakers in Quechua. With policy changes toward compulsory Spanish, rural schools were created where indigenous were supposed to study and learn Spanish. These schools were largely inefficient, especially since teaching Spanish to indigenous was the opposite of what the land owners desired. They would have preferred to maintain an uneducated labor force. (García, 2004, p. 349 ff)

With a few exceptions, such as General Velasco’s officiating of Quechua in 1975, Quechua has been subordinated to Spanish as the official language in the different constitutions from
the time of independence (1821) up to the present day. There have been a number of experimental bilingual education projects throughout the highland and lowland regions of Peru since the 1940s, most have been isolated experiences, initiated by individuals and organizations independent of the Peruvian state, and financed primarily with international funding. There are two notable exceptions. First, the emphasis that Luis Valcárcel and José María Arguedas both working for the Ministry of Education – placed on Quechua and bilingualism in the 1940s, and secondly, the Education Reform implemented by General Juan Velasco Alvarado in the 1970s. (Ibid, 350 ff)

In 1946, the Peruvian Indigenista Institute was established, and the Ministries of Education and of Public Works also began to promote programs highlighting the cultural recovery of indigenous language, art, religion and culture. The Ministry of Education started implementing bilingual education in indigenous schools. (Ibid, p. 352) In 1972, the National Policy of Bilingual Education supported the implementation of bilingual education in all highland, lowland and coastal areas where languages other than Spanish were spoken. This was an important step, since the use of native languages for teaching had been prohibited since the 1780s. In 1975 a law was passed making Quechua a national language co-equal with Spanish. Peru became the first Latin American country to make an indigenous language official. (Ibid, p. 353) With the change of president (1975) and of constitution (1979), the law making Quechua an official language was changed to embrace Quechua not as an official national language, but rather as ‘a language of official use in the areas and in the way that the Law mandates’. (Ibid, p. 354)

The 1980s were a difficult time with regards to indigenous development policies, Sendero Luminoso, a Maoist revolution group immersed Peru in a bloody civil war for over a decade. Despite the political climate there were some developments in language and education policies aimed at indigenous peoples. Hence, in 1985, the Quechua and Aymara alphabets became official, and in 1987, after approximately 10 years of inactivity, President Alan García (1985–1990, and reelected in 2006) re-established the National Office of Bilingual Education. With the election of Alberto Fujimori as president of Peru in 1990, the country entered another political scenario. The civil war was officially over by 1993 and Peru began a slow change toward democratic rule. The new constitution lead by Fujimori, highlights the state’s obligation to support intercultural and bilingual education, depending on the characteristics of each region. Nevertheless, at the same time Fujimori closed the National
Office for Bilingual education, referring to lack of funds as the reason for doing so. Due to international demands, and because of protests by intercultural activists throughout the country, the Office was re-established in 1996, but only as a Unit within the National Office of Elementary Education (UNEBI). (Ibid, p. 355) Between 1997 and 2001, the UNEBI produced 94 bilingual teaching manuals, in Ayamar, five regional Quechua variations and in various Amazonian languages. With the help of several non governmental organizations, universities and research institutes, the UNEBI’s staff also facilitated bilingual training for over 10,000 teachers working in bilingual areas. (Ibid, p. 356)

With the election in 2001 of Alejandro Toledo as president of Peru, there was an increased emphasis on issues regarding indigenous rights. The UNEBI, increased the number of its staff, and was renamed the National Division of Intercultural Bilingual Education (DINEBI). The division became more autonomous over policy decisions when it came to affecting bilingual education and language policy. Despite obvious support for multicultural agendas, there is much skepticism about government commitment to these cultural policies. Still, the presence and financial support of international actors, such as non governmental organizations and the World Bank, have helped institutionalize a multicultural development agenda throughout Latin America. It is within this broader context that the implementation of Intercultural Bilingual Education (as it is understood in Peru today) remains one of the primary demands of indigenous rights believers. In Peru, much of the struggle over the institutionalization and implementation of alternative indigenous education, such as ensuring that constitutional paragraphs guaranteeing multicultural rights are respected, has taken place at state level. In 2001 and 2002, an increasing number of indigenous leaders and advocates in Peru embraced intercultural education as a vital part of the struggle for both cultural and political rights. Rather than to use indigenous languages only as a way to simplify the transition into learning Spanish, bilingual intercultural education in Peru today promotes the maintenance of indigenous languages alongside the teaching of a second language (Spanish), as well as the acceptance and respect of cultural difference.(Ibid, 355ff)
3. Methodology

In order to demonstrate how the methodological aspects have affected the thesis in general, this chapter presenting the scientific perspective and the research procedure that have been used during the compilation of the thesis.

3.1 Scientific Perspective

3.1.1 Scientific View

The basic view of this thesis is that in social science only subjective realities exist, which implies that all knowledge is influenced and dependent on the individual that interprets it and therefore this thesis will be inevitably subjective in its character. Since the intention of this thesis is to understand, interpret and analyze an abstract and complicated issue, a hermeneutic view is preferable. A fundamental idea within the hermeneutic view is that individuals always define and understand their reality based on certain underlying assumptions, i.e. their pre-understanding. According to the hermeneutic view, this pre-understanding is a necessary condition for understanding (Gilje, Grimen, 1992, p. 183) and it is seen as an asset and not an obstacle when it comes to interpret and understand the intended science area. (Davidson, Patel 1994, p. 26) The reason why pre-understanding is essential is that when the researcher is going to interpret a text or any other meaningful phenomenon, he or she will start with certain ideas about what to look for. Without such ideas, the research would be without direction and the researcher would not be able to know what to focus on.

People are affected by their former experiences and have basic values and certain perceptions of the world around them. It is impossible to determine every factor that has influenced my pre-understanding in this case but the most important factor is my Swedish values and culture.

3.2 Research Method

There are mainly two research methods to choose from when conducting a study; qualitative and quantitative. Since the research methods are not mutually exclusive there is nothing that says that the researcher cannot add data to the research with the other method. What determines the choice is the purpose of the study, available resources and former experience. (Lekvall, Wahlbin, 1987, p.170 f ) Former experiences have influenced me in my choice of research method and to be able to achieve the purpose of this thesis with available resources, the best alternative is to use a qualitative method. The qualitative researcher’s goal is to understand human behavior and experience better. They seek to grasp the process by which
people construct meaning and to describe what those meanings are. (Bogdan, Biklen, 2007, p. 43) The aim of the chosen research method in this thesis is to discuss EBI education in Peru with my interviewees to get to know their opinions and experiences. In qualitative research, research questions are not framed by operationalizing variables, rather, they are formulated to investigate topics in all their complexity, in context. While people conducting qualitative research develop a focus as they collect data, they do not approach the research with specific questions to answer a hypothesis to test. They are also concerned with understanding behavior from the informants own frame of references. (Ibid, p. 2)

3.3 Research Process
3.3.1 Phase 1: Applying for scholarship
Due to the fact that I applied for a scholarship to be able to conduct this thesis, the first step in my research process was to look for relevant connections in a developing country to be able to obtain the scholarship. When finding a supervisor in Peru I knew could help me I started to investigate the education system in the country. In order to be able to properly define a narrow research area that is quite undeveloped, it is important to obtain a broader knowledge. Having read a number of articles and books, relevant prior research and issues concerning education in developing countries, the topic for this thesis was found. I wanted to investigate how the Peruvians working in the rural areas look upon EBI education, what the opportunities and challenges are. When receiving the Minor field study scholarship my next phase took place.

3.3.2 Phase 2: Theoretical research
The next step in my research process was my literature study and when sufficient pre-understanding had been obtained, I decided upon delimitations and a more precise purpose and research questions to be able to fulfill my purpose.

The theoretical framework is based on both articles and books. My theoretical framework is used to illuminate central aspects concerning EBI education and the challenges involved such as language, teaching and schooling in bilingual areas in developing countries. The literacy study has been an ongoing process throughout the compilation of this thesis. One of the problems I have found is that it is difficult to find research made by Peruvians on their own school system. A lot of bilingual education studies have been done in for example Canada, the
United States and so forth but there are fewer studies done on bilingual education issues in developing countries.

3.3.3 Phase 3: Getting to Know a New Culture

When arriving in Peru my primary concern was to get to know the culture better. It was my first time in South America and even though I had read a lot about the country and its culture before leaving it is not the same as actually being there. In different cultures there are different rules about human communication and relationships. It is easy to misinterpret each other if you are not familiar with the cultural variations. (Bogdan, Biklen, 2007, p. 94) My supervisor in Peru, Rocío Valdivia working at Intej\(^1\), helped me get to know the new culture. I also had different contact persons helping me at almost every interview explaining things when I did not understand. I could also discuss the interviews and the collected data with them. Bogdan and Biklen recommend the researcher to find out about culture matters by discussing it with others. Furthermore, it is important to understand how my personal characteristics and status might affect my fieldwork relationship with individual subjects I encounter. (Ibid, p. 94) I am aware of, that being a white European woman, in rural areas in Peru with extreme poverty made the relationship with the respondents quite different. Some of the students had never seen a European before which was special but it helped me that I had someone they knew with me during the interviews.

The first two weeks I spent at different schools in the suburbs of Lima to improve my knowledge of the school system. I also interviewed people working with school issues at Grade\(^2\) institute. In the suburbs of Lima not many people speak Quechua and they do not have EBI education and therefore the time there will not be mentioned in my thesis. However, the time was imperative to get to know the culture and so forth.

3.3.4 Phase 4: Empirical Gathering

I have done a qualitative study and the choices of empirical gathering method have been case studies since, given the available resources, it has the highest degree of quality. One reason for choosing this approach is that the intention is not to draw general conclusions in relation to a broader target population but to get a more general knowledge. A case study is a detailed

\(^1\) http://www.intej.org
\(^2\) http://www.grade.org.pe/
examination of one setting, or a single subject, a single depository or documents, or one particular event. (Ibid, p. 94) I have chosen to focus on one subject, EBI education.

3.3.4.1 Selection of Respondents

I have done most of my study in the area of Cusco and Anchonga. My selection has not been random and the reason why choosing these places is mainly due to the fact that my supervisor on sight had contact with these schools/organizations and that Quechua is the dominant language in both areas.

In Cusco I visited four different schools. Two schools I visited during one day and both of them were bilingual schools on paper but the methodology was only used in one of the cases. My help at these schools Selena Cervantes Monteagudo works with school quality evaluation in the area for Educal Peru. When visiting these schools I spoke mostly to Selena Cervantes Monteagudo but I also spoke to teachers at each school. I also went to one school in the area that has compulsory Quechua on the schedule even though most of the student does not speak Quechua at all. The main reason for the school having Quechua schooling is that the principal of that school believes the indigenous culture and its language to be important for every individual living in Peru. The school is extremely popular and has international students as well. I did not spend that much time at each of these schools, but at all the places I did interviews. In retrospect I am of the opinion that these interviews and visits where more functional as pilot studies for me to improve my own knowledge and therefore I will not present the finding in the empirical chapter. On the other hand I will present findings from the ongoing discussion with Selena Cervantes Monteagudo. When conducting case studies the general design could be explained as a tunnel. The course of action continually modifies as the researcher knows more about the topic. (Bogdan and Biklen (2007) p. 59)

In the Cusco area, I also visited a school in Limatambo for one week. The school, Rio Blanco, is an evangelist school and gets a lot of donations from a church in the United States. The school is also an orphanage. I participated during lessons; spoke to a lot of the students and teachers. I also interviewed the principal of that school. Being there during one week made it possible to get to know the school better and most of the interviews were informal. I did inform all the respondents of my purpose with the thesis. Conducting interviews in Peru is different from Sweden. When I started to speak to one student or one teacher more came along. Most of my interviews at Rio Blanco therefore took the form of group interviews,
except for the one with the principal. I also did some interviews with parents, also group interviews during a meeting at school. This course of action has resulted in that I have, in the empirical chapter, collected the important findings from the interviews and not pinpointed who said what. It was difficult taking notes during the discussion due to the fact that the respondents all started to speak about the issue which made the interview look more like a conversation.

In Anchonga an organization called Tierra de Niños helped me. Tierra de Niños work with social change in Peru and the mission for the organization is to increase and strengthen the autonomy and the living standards for children and adolescents in areas with extreme poverty. The organization work in four main areas, one of which, is education. In Anchonga I stayed with the organization during two weeks and we went to different schools in that area. I also attended a seminar that Tierra de Niños where having on the topic of EBI education. I interviewed teachers in three different schools in the area of Anchonga all using EBI education and I also spoke to some pupils. The interviews with the students were group interviews and it was difficult for me to make the children feel relaxed due to the fact that some of them had never meet a European woman before. In Anchonga I did not speak to parents of the pupils and only one of the principals of the schools was interviewed. The reason for this was that it is difficult to contact the school prior to a visit, and at the time of visit, two of the schools´ principals were not there. During my stay in Anchonga I also interviewed Manuel Valdivas, consultant in EBI education for the Ministry of Education in Peru. Staying with Tierra de Niños for two weeks also resulted in that I had ongoing informal conversation with the employees at Tierra de Niños about EBI education in Peru.

Before visiting all the places I have been to in Peru I wanted to compare the EBI education in the area of Cusco and Anchonga, but after the visit at Rio Blanco I decided to change my approach. This change was mainly due to the fact that the Rio Blanco did not have EBI education, even though most of the students spoke Quechua as their mother tongue. I also went to a lot of different schools during my stay in Peru and at each and everyone I spoke to people and got to know more about what they saw as the opportunities and challenges with EBI education in Peru. Therefore I have chosen to present the findings, from all of the interviews, that I think are of interest to fulfill my purpose.

3 http://www.tierradeninos.org
3.3.4.2 Interviews

Knowledge about EBI education is preferably obtained through discussions and to be able to have flexible discussions with the respondents one of the chosen techniques was semi-structured face-to-face interviews. The use of a semi-structured interview had the advantage for me to fill in more questions when there was a need for it. There was also a possibility to choose formulation and question order, and more questions with a higher degree of complexity could be asked. The drawbacks of interviews could be that the respondent could be affected by prestige bias and that the presence of an interviewer might make the respondent answer the questions in a way that he or she thinks is preferred by the interviewer, thereby biasing the answer. (Dahmström, 1996, p. 63)

Considering the fact that many respondents may find tape recorders uncomfortable during face-to-face interviews and not least in rural areas, I did not use one. In addition, a lot of the interviews and the collected information have also been made through informal conversations. In participant-observation studies, the researcher usually knows the subjects through interacting with them before interviewing so the interview is often like a conversation between friends. (Bogdan, Biklen, 2007, p. 103)

After all the interviews I made fieldnotes. I have tried to make both descriptive and reflective fieldnotes. (Ibid, p. 120ff) Since it was hard to know in advance how much experience and/or knowledge the respondents had concerning the issue, the questions were asked with a low degree of standardization and the more they knew the more advanced questions could be asked. By using face-to-face interviews instead of questionnaires, there was also the possibility of making the respondent clarify his or her answers and to make him or her feel more obliged to answering the questions. (Dahmström, 1996, p. 63) Moreover, the use of open-ended questions allowed me to be surprised, i.e. to learn things that were not expected when making the interview guide. (Lekvall, Wahlbin, 1993, p. 144) During my stay, I also got to know a lot about how EBI education worked in Peru and therefore my interview technique improved with each and every interview. The empirical gathering was conducted in Peru from April until June 2007.

I have chosen to only present the names of the people and organizations with whom I spent a longer time and they all have agreed upon me mention them by their real names in the thesis.
3.3.5 Phase 5: Analytical Reflections
As the compilations of the interviews were made on the same day as the interviews, the reflection of the findings has been an ongoing process. The theoretical framework has been a tool for the analytical discussion and a source of inspiration when looking for meaningful and interesting tendencies concerning the EBI educational issue. Since the subject is part of a process, the answer to the research question cannot be found without taking the entire process into consideration.

3.3.6 Phase 6: Critical Reflections in Retrospect
When writing a thesis there are always critical reflections in retrospect and here I present the ones that may have influenced this thesis.

3.3.6.1 Reliability
Reliability is said to exist when a repetition of a measurement will give the same result. As such it should be stable enough to be insensitive to who has carried out the interviews and research. (Dahmström, 1996, p. 210) Since the research is based on interviews the reliability is related to my ability as interviewer, and as mentioned before my technique improved along the way. It is difficult to say if the respondents have presented the information in a more positive way than was actually the case. However, by posing neutral questions, I have tried to diminish the negative effects that this can lead to. One thing that could have influenced the respondents in the case of Anchonga is that one person from the organization, also helping the schools, always attended the interviews.

The interviews were all conducted in Spanish and to use a language, that is not my native language, has resulted in extra interpretation of the empirical data. I transmitted the interviews the same day as made to remember more exactly what had been said. I started of using a tape recorder but soon realized that this made the respondents more closed. To be able to have a more open conversation I stopped using the tape recorder.

3.3.6.2 Validity
Validity is an instrument’s ability to measure accurately what it has set out to measure. If the theory is coherent and connected to the purpose in a way that makes the interviews objectively comparable to the problem area, this comparison contributes to a high validity. (Dahmström, 1996, p. 222 ff) By studying the topic and thereby obtaining a broader
knowledge of the topic beforehand the risk of investigating the wrong topics has been diminished. However my inherited Swedish values could be seen as an obstacle.

Another thing that could have influenced the validity is that the visited schools were not randomly chosen and that the organizations helping me had done the selection. Maybe the schools visited are more representative than others in their opinion. Even if this was the case I do believe that the findings have sufficient value due to the fact that I have visited different schools and spoke to a lot of people.

3.3.6.3 Critical Review of the Sources

To increase the trustworthiness of the sources, I have tried to always use the original source. I also have investigated the issue thoroughly before choosing the theoretical framework. Many of the chosen researchers have Swedish backgrounds and one reason for this is that it has been easier finding the literature and understanding it. The chosen researchers are internationally well-acknowledged.
4. Empirical Findings

This chapter will submit the empirical findings from the interviews and if not stated otherwise the information presented originates from the different respondents.

4.1 Empirical finding in the Cusco area

4.1.2 Rio Blanco

Rio Blanco is a school set in the mountainous country side 80 km from Cusco. Situated in Limatambo and the school campus has no stores or restaurants. The village is not close and most of the pupils live without influence from the outside world such as newspapers, internet and television. Most of the people living in the area work with agriculture and the area is poor. The school is run by evangelists and has 220 pupils. The school is built upon contribution and for being a school in Peru the school has a lot of resources such as computers and relatively small classes from about ten to 25 pupils in each class. The school has initial, primary and secondary education. The school is also an orphanage and about 58 of the pupils live at the school. Most of the pupils have Quechua as their mother tongue. Some of the pupil who are not living at the school have two hours of walking to reach it. Rio Blanco does not have EBI education at the school.

4.1.2.1 Interview with the Principal

The principal said that there is a resistance among the pupils to learn Quechua, mostly of social factors. The students who live at the school are orphaned or have been abandoned by their parents and when arriving most of them speak Quechua and Spanish. The problem is that among the pupils living at the school Spanish is the spoken language and they do not want to express themselves in Quechua. There is not uncommon that Quechua speaking children get bullied when speaking Quechua which result in that they stop speaking Quechua and start speaking Spanish all the time. Most of the pupils want to forget about their past and one way is not speaking their first language.

The principal said that EBI education is interesting but it is difficult to find teachers that know the methodology. When asking the Principal why they do not teach Quechua at the school he said that for now it is to expensive and the school cannot afford it. However they are looking for contribution so maybe in two years they can have Quechua on their schedule. About fifty
percent of the teachers at the school speak Quechua and according to the principal they would like to have lessons in Quechua. The school tries to work with the community and for example the school recently had a dance show with dances from the neighborhood. The said that it was appreciated and the pupils had to ask their parents and grandparents to teach them. Rio Blanco works a lot with the parents. Once a month the parents have to come to the school and help out with different things such as construction and gardening. The school also has monthly information for the parents about different subjects such as health, hygiene and education. The principal was of the opinion that it is important for the school to educate pupils to believe in themselves and not to be afraid of speaking in front of others. Rio Blanco works a lot with performance such as dance, music and theatre. The school is popular and a lot of people want their children to attend the school. Before, the school was free of charge, but today the principal has changed that so now it costs to go there. However it does not cost much and is dependent on what the parents can afford.

The principal also said that a lot of the parents do not think that their children will have a life different from their own and that this way of thinking causes problems when introducing new subjects in the schedule such as theatre. He also said that an important work for the school is to make its pupils ready for the life after school and that today this area has a lot of tourist and it is extremely important that they learn English so that they therefore have possibility to work with tourism in the future. The students start with English when attending kinder garden. The principal said that for him it is more important to teach the students English than Quechua.

### 4.1.2.2 Interview with Pupils

One girl at the age of 7 that had lived at the school for two months said that before attending Rio Blanco she spoke Quechua most of the time but since she started at the school she had hardly spoken any Quechua at all and starts to forget the language. Another group of students who attend the school but are not living there said that they are speaking Quechua most of the time with their family members. The pupils also said that while at school they hardly speak Quechua. The student said that they would have liked Quechua classes to improve their knowledge of the language. They also said that they use Quechua a lot and they know people whose only language is Quechua. When asking them if they would like the teacher to teach for example English and math in Quechua they said that they wouldn’t like that mainly because most of the teachers do not speak good enough Quechua. When asking them why a lot of the pupils in the school were ashamed of speaking Quechua they said that they were
aware of that issue and that they were not ashamed of speaking their mother tongue and did not know why other student were. When interviewing some of the children living at the campus they said that they did not speak Quechua and most of them would not like to learn the language. In addition, some of the non speaking Quechua students said that they would have liked to learn the language because a lot of their friends knew the language and the spoken language in the area was Quechua.

No one of the interviewed pupils said that they had teaching in Quechua. A majority of the interviewed pupils said that they would have liked to learn Quechua in school. Mainly, due to that Quechua is the spoken language in the community.

4.1.2.3 Group Interview with Teachers

One teacher said that many parents and teachers think that teaching and learning Quechua is going against the social change of the country, useless and that the future is Spanish and English. Learning Quechua is against the development of the country. She said that this was a general opinion and not specific to Rio Blanco. She also said that she had worked at another school with EBI education and that she is positive concerning the approach and that she is of the opinion that the students learn other subjects more easily when explained in their mother tongue. When speaking to other teachers, some of them said that a lot of people think that learning Quechua is useless. When speaking to two non-Quechua speaking teachers, with a indigenous background they regretted that their parents did not teach them Quechua because the language is useful in their work. They would have liked to speak Quechua to have a more direct communication with some of the students. The two teachers also said that a lot of students at the school were ashamed of speaking Quechua and that some of the other students bully them when speaking. They said that some of the children speak Quechua but not perfectly and that is one of the reasons why the other children are making fun of them. Furthermore this makes the pupils shy to speak their mother tongue. They said that a lot of people are of the opinion that Quechua are for the non-educated people in Peru while Spanish is for the educated. They also said that the writing of Quechua is difficult due to that the written language has fewer vocals than the oral language. They also said that the differences within the language in different parts of Peru make it harder to teach. They said that half of the teachers at the school speak Quechua fluently. They also said that a lot of work such as teaching, engineering, medicine and pharmacist is easier if speaking both Quechua and Spanish. One of the teachers working at the school said that one of the problems with
Quechua in this community is that the children and parents cannot write in Quechua. They also said that at this school it is Spanish and English that are the used languages and that Quechua is not in use today at the school.

4.1.2.4 Interview with Parents

The parents said that at home and in the community they speak Quechua. They said that in this area Quechua is the first language and Spanish the second. Nevertheless they spoke Spanish for example when speaking to the teachers at the school. When asking them if they would have liked their children to learn Quechua at school they said that of course they would have liked that. They said that they would have liked their children to improve the language spoken in the community. Most of them said that they could not write in Quechua and that they would have liked their children to learn that. When asking them why they thought Rio Blanco did not have Quechua on the schedule they said that they did not know. When asking them about education bilingual intercultural they said that they did not know what it was but that they would like their children to learn more Quechua.

4.2 Findings in Anchonga

All of the schools I visited in Anchonga were situated in the rural areas and the people living there live in extreme poverty. A lot of the people in the area work with agriculture and it is not uncommon for woman to have more than six children. The schools, all primary schools, i.e. grade one to six, are small schools. Tierra de Niños helped all of the schools with material such as books and also give seminars to the teachers about EBI education. At all visited schools in the area the aim with EBI is to start with Quechua and thereafter introduce Spanish little by little, alongside with the first language. The organization also provides the schools with material and books written for EBI education with examples from the children’s own reality.

4.2.1 Interview with Teachers working in Anchonga

4.2.1.1 Teacher number one in Anchonga

The teacher had worked as a teacher for five years and had been trained in an EBI institute and use EBI educational methods. She said that the problems with EBI education are that they do not have sufficient material and that the parents want their children to learn Spanish and not Quechua. She said that her students accept the method and likes it. She also said that the
opportunities with EBI education are that the children obtain improved knowledge in every subject. She also said that a lot of schools, including the one she works for, using EBI education get contribution which improves the general possibilities for the school. She also said that one challenge is to get the parents to accept EBI education. During the work she had noticed that the children improved their communication skills and got better self-esteem. Moreover the grades have improved since the school started with EBI education. In addition, she said that most of the teachers who are against EBI education are against it because they do not know the method. She said that EBI education is superior because the children learn to write, read and communicate in both Quechua and Spanish. She also said that EBI education is good for the children cultural identity. She is also of the opinion that the children educated in bilingual schools learn as much Spanish as the children with Quechua as first language attending schools with only Spanish education. She believes in EBI education and wants to continue with the method.

4.2.1.2 Teacher number two in Anchonga

During an interview with another teacher at a different school in Anchonga. The teacher had got further education in EBI education but had attended most of his training in an institute without EBI education on the schedule. He said that the children have more capacity in their first language and have improved their knowledge in every area when taught also in Quechua. He said that an important work for EBI education is to continue finding methods that work so that the system can improve even more.

4.2.1.3 Teacher number three in Anchonga

Another interview with a teacher, in Anchonga that had been working as a teacher for 27 years, using EBI education the last couple of years. His first language is Quechua and he has only been taking seminars in the method of EBI education. The problems he finds with EBI education are that a lot of the teachers do not know Quechua and that some of the teachers still think that teaching in Quechua is against the social development of the country. The opportunity he finds with EBI education is that a lot of organizations contribute with money and experience to the schools when they implementing and use EBI education. He said that the children, when starting with schooling in their mother tongue, express themselves far better, develop much faster and learn every subject more easily. He said that when they started with EBI education in Anchonga nearly all the parents where against it, but right now where he works approximately eighty percent of the parents approve of the method while
twenty percent still believes it is a threat to the social change of the country. The children are of the opinion that learning in Quechua is much easier and approve of teachers speaking their own language. He is also of the opinion that with EBI education the children know as much Spanish as do children who are only taught in Spanish when finishing school. Most of the teachers that resist the EBI education method do this because they do not speak, write and read sufficiently in Quechua. Some don’t even speak the language. He said that one of the problems with teachers in Peru is that they are not willing to experiment with different methods. He said that the grades are at the same level now as before and mostly because the directives from the government are more suited for children with Spanish as their native language. He said that EBI education is preferable for the children because it is closer to their own reality.

4.2.1.4 Teacher number four in Anchonga

Another interview with a teacher who had been working for ten years as a teacher and with EBI education since 2002. She said that in the area of Anchonga the children speak Quechua and they understand better when taught in Quechua. She also thinks that the level of Spanish when finishing 6th grade has increased since using the method. She also said that some of the children have problems communicating in Spanish and Quechua because they mix the two languages together. She believes that EBI education is preferable but it is important that the teachers know the method well and do not mix the two languages. She said that when starting with EBI education the parents did not approve at all and taught it was against the social change of the country, but now they really like it and realize that the children learn a lot more at school. The students favor EBI education. She said that the language used in the community is Quechua and the children use the language to think and to do everything else. The teacher has learnt the method through the seminars given to her by Tierra de Niños and she would like to improve her knowledge through more seminars. She also said that the grades have increased since starting with EBI education. She said that the principal of the school accepted the method but is not using it due to the fact that he does not manage the method nor the language of Quechua.

4.2.1.5 Teacher number five in Anchonga (also Principal)

He has worked as a teacher for twenty years. He has been trained in EBI education through different non governmental organizations. According to him one of the advantages with EBI education is that non governmental organizations assist the school with methods and material.
He also said that the children have increased their learning ability since starting with EBI education. He said that the children learn Spanish little by little and that in sixth grade they knows as much Spanish as the children schooled in the old manner with only Spanish. He said that some of them are even better in sixth grade than before. He said that in general he can only notice positive results with EBI education. He said that in the beginning of EBI education they had some material that did not work but now the material is more suited for the children´s educational level and background. He said that the children now communicate and discuss better. He also said that EBI education helps the children in their academic development. He said that the parents have different opinions of the school using EBI education, some do not like it while some do. He had noticed that the parents’ general approval had increased when using the method for some years. He said that the children support learning to read and write in Quechua and that they would like to have more school books in Quechua. He said that the children learn faster when they can read and write in their own language first, in this case Quechua. The grades have improved and the teachers have to accept the language of the children which has resulted in that the children can explain themselves better. He also said that some of the teachers who do not like the method are of that opinion because they think the written language with three vocals is wrong and that it should be five vocals in the written language of Quechua. He said that a lot of non-governmental organizations are now interested in helping the schools in rural areas with EBI education and that has been positive for the schools. He also said that the seminars given in EBI education have been really interesting and that it has resulted in an exchange of techniques and experiences between teachers and experts in the field.

4.2.2.1 Interview nr 1 with a group of Students in Anchonga

At one school, the children like attending school because they are learning about new things and to write and read. They like being taught in Quechua but they also believe it is important with schooling in Spanish. They would like to have more Spanish at school. They want to learn Spanish so that they can talk to everybody in the village, in school and also to have the opportunity in the future to move to Lima or other big cities. They said that they do understand better when the teachers explain in Quechua. The interviewed children only used Spanish when going to the village and in school. When asking the students what their parents think about the EBI education all of them said that the parents liked it.
4.2.2.2 Interview nr 2 with another group of Students in Anchonga

All the students agreed that it was better with teaching methods in Quechua because they understood better. They were also of the opinion that learning Spanish was important so that they could be able to communicate with people from other parts of the country. Some of them also wanted to move to Lima when older and said that this made it important for them to know Spanish. All of them spoke Spanish only at school and used Quechua everywhere else.

4.3 Findings from Interviews with Experts in the field

4.3.1 Interview with Selena Cervantes Monteagudo in Cusco

Selena Cervantes Monteagudo is working with quality evaluation in schools in the area of Cusco. She said that the schools in Peru have a lot of problems. When it comes to the EBI education one problem is that the parents have a resistance against their children learning Quechua due to the fact that they want their children to increase their knowledge of the Spanish language. Nevertheless when the children are attending schools with EBI education that are functional with skilled teachers, the resistance from the parents decrease as they notice that their children are learning a lot. She said that the parents blame any problem at the school on the Quechua education even though most of the time the reason is bad teachers. She believed one reason was that the indigenous parents’ low self-esteem made them scared of authorities such as teachers. She also said that some teachers have a resistance of teaching Quechua and the indigenous culture due to having had bad experience themselves while growing up. She said that too many of the teachers are of the opinion that Quechua is for common people working with agriculture and that Spanish is for the educated people. She also said that EBI education is mostly up to the teachers to choose if they want to use it. Some schools with or without contribution have a really skilful EBI education and most of the time it is a few teachers who really believe in the method. She also said that one problem is that no one from the government working with the issue ever goes out and study the reality at the schools.

4.3.2 Interview with Manuel Valdivas in Anchonga

Manuel Valdivas in Anchonga, consultants in EBI for the Ministry of Education in Peru. He said that the parents want their children to learn Spanish so that they can get a better life than what they have had themselves. The farmers in this country have suffered a lot and it is not just poverty. During the time of Haciendas they got oppressed by the owners and for example did not get paid. The parents today want their children to do something else with
their lives. Many parents are of the opinion that teaching Quechua will decrease the time spent on Spanish education and that their children will not learn enough Spanish. He said that the parents are uneducated in how the education works. Many parents do not know what EBI education stands for and are afraid of the implication and on top of that the teachers do not explain the matter either. He also said that if the children do not increase their knowledge in school the parents blame it on the Quechua education even though most likely it is due to bad teachers. The parents do not dare to complain on the teachers because they believe the teachers to be superior to themselves.

He also said that one problem with EBI education is that it is made for the cities but used in the countryside. This results in that the method is not good enough. A lot of schools are also dependent on contributions from non-governmental organizations. Furthermore, the authorities in Peru do not give EBI education sufficient support. All the important documents and information in Peru are still in Spanish and not translated to Quechua and other native languages. With every important document still in Spanish, the results is, that the parents do not understand the importance of learning Quechua at school. The written language of Quechua is only about 40 years old. Many do not have sufficient experience of EBI education and to make it functional the teachers, parents and students need help. Most of the teachers do not have any education in EBI education and this makes it more difficult. Some years ago there was a national project to educate teachers in EBI education, but it was not enough. Furthermore, it is a technical problem with EBI education and that is that there do not exist any method of teaching Spanish as a second language. On top of that, many teachers that have been attending bilingual teaching training programs, meeting the reality, far different from the one taught at the institutes, and therefore abandon the EBI education method. Many schools in Peru have a lot of problems that not facilitate EBI education.

Among the teachers who speak Quechua several do not know the written language and cannot teach how to read and write in Quechua. Another problem is that the teachers do not have sufficient material to work with the EBI education method. When the teachers do not have the tools to use the method they teach as they have been taught. Even though there are a lot of problems with EBI education, he believes it is important not to give up. The children, most of them living in the rural areas, have Quechua as their first language and use their cognitive awareness in Quechua. The children are communicating and thinking in Quechua.
When speaking about the future of EBI education he is a bit pessimistic. He said that in general the educational level of the teachers is too low. There is not uncommon that the teachers themselves can not read and write neither in Spanish nor in Quechua. He said that the education of the teachers has to improve. Furthermore, many teachers in Peru do not read the newspaper or books. They never attend any further education. The salary for teachers in Peru is low resulting in that the teachers do not want to do extra work. A lot of them think that teaching in Quechua as well will result in extra work which makes them keep on as they have always done, teaching only in Spanish. The living standards for the teachers are also extreme as they often need to live at the schools during weekdays in the rural areas away from their families and friends.

He also said that some of the teachers with an indigenous background do not want to be part of their background anymore due to their own experience. He also said that some teachers in the rural areas pity their students and think that they are only simple farmers that never will be educated.

4.3.3 Interview with Mariana Palomino in Anchonga

Mariana Palomino is working with bilingual education at Tierra de Niños. One problem is that the education of the teachers often does not include EBI education, the education is monolingual. Moreover one problem is that many teachers can not write in Quechua even though they speak the language. Some of the teachers want to learn more about EBI education but there are also many who do not want to learn. One of the problems is that some of the teachers and parents think that learning Quechua is against the social development of the country. Furthermore, one problem is that some of the teachers do not sufficiently explain the difference between Quechua and Spanish. Therefore the children mix the two languages, which results in the parents disliking the method. Moreover, the children do not learn neither Spanish nor Quechua sufficiently and when leaving the villages they get bullied by other children because they do not manage the languages. In addition, the indigenous, including herself, do not know how to be proud of their culture. A lot of people are ashamed of their passed especially the ones moving to Lima or other big cities. She also said that some of the institutes and universities teaching the method do not do this well enough. The opportunities with EBI education are that the children learn every subject better. She also said that the schools working with EBI education get a lot of help from different organizations such as Tierra de Niños which improves the opportunities for the children. She also said that it is
important for the children to speak well in Quechua because in the communities Quechua is the language in use. She also believes that when using EBI education the children’s self-esteem increases.
5. Analysis

To be able to fulfill my purpose, I here present an analytical discussion where the most important aspects of the findings are pinpointed. Finally, I will sum up the discussion in some concluding remarks.

5.1 Analytical Discussion

Selena Cervantes Monteagudo, Marina Palomino and Manuel Valdivas discussed that to have a high-quality EBI education the most important factor was that teachers at the school support and have faith in the method. This is consistent with the reflection made by Cummins (2000) that it is important to have in mind that the central factor appears to be the extent to which the school is making a serious attempt to promote students first language literacy rather than the specific linguistic order in which reading is introduced. According to the empirical findings one of the opportunities with EBI education is the contributions from non-governmental organizations. A lot of the respondents in schools where they had EBI education said that when implementing this educational system they got help with materials and support from non-governmental organizations. Stroud (2002) argues that cost affordable is a common problem when implementing programs such as EBI education in Peru. He discusses that it is expensive to educate teachers in a new method and on top of that new school material need to be made. A few respondents also reflected upon that the written language of Quechua was not sufficient and they mentioned the issue of how many vocals should be in use. Stroud (2002) discusses that it is important to have relevant applied language research.

One challenge seems to be that only a few teachers have undertaken teacher training programs in EBI education. Benson (2004) discusses that it is important to educate teachers in the method. In addition, the empirical findings imply that one problem with EBI education in Peru is that some teachers are not bilingual themselves. And some teachers who are skilled in the spoken language are not able to use the written language. The principal at Rio Blanco said that it is difficult finding teachers and it is even more difficult to find bilingual ones. During the study in Anchonga a lot of the respondents said that teachers are opposed to EBI education due to problems of not managing both languages. The students at Rio Blanco also mentioned that they did not want their teachers to use Quechua. Mostly, due to that the teachers didn’t master the language good enough. Stroud (2002) discusses that one challenge
implementing the programs is the mobility and language competencies of teachers who already are placed in the schools. The findings imply this problem. Manuel Valdivas also discusses that one problem in Peru is that *a lot of teachers do not want further education* and that many of them are of the opinion that using EBI education will result in more job for them, which in turn makes it harder to start using the method. Benson (2004) discussed that to be able to have a functional EBI education there is important with for example first and second language learning theories and teaching methods, but to be able to implement this it is vital to have teachers speaking both languages. The respondents in Anchonga all of which had attended seminars in EBI education given by Tierra de Niños liked the seminars and wanted more education to improve their competence. Another problem that the empirical findings illustrate is that even though a lot of inhabitants speak Quechua, *all the important information*, even in the areas with Quechua speakers, is *in Spanish*. Manuel Valdivas said that this course of action makes it harder for the parents to support EBI education because they believe that it is far more important to learn Spanish for the children to have a better life. Benson (2004) said that parents and most sectors of society look to school to provide the children with linguistic capital, meaning competence in the dominant language. Bilingual teachers in development countries are expected to bridge the home-school culture gap.

A few respondents reflect on the issue that the *parents want their children to have a better life than themselves* and that the parents believe that learning Spanish is imperative to make this happen. Consequently they want only Spanish to be taught at school. Some respondents reflected upon that EBI education were against social development. A few respondents also discussed that the *teachers own bad experience of being Quechua native speakers* made them dislike EBI education. In addition, Manuel Valdivas and Selena Cervantes Monteagudo discusses that both teachers and parents are challenged by this thought which makes it more difficult to implement EBI education. Benson (2004) argues that bilingual teachers themselves may be ambivalent regarding the place of the first language in formal schooling, having been exposed to hundreds of years of colonial thinking themselves. The empirical finding supports this assumption. Moreover, Stroud (2002) also discusses that an obstacle with implementing EBI education is the community members’ negative attitudes towards the use of local languages in formal systems of education. The empirical findings imply that when the *education is not working the parents often blame this on EBI education* if in use, even though most likely it is due to unskilled teachers. The respondents said that one of the problems with EBI education is that the indigenous parents are afraid of authorities and do not
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dare to doubt the teachers. Cummins (2000) states that bilingual education, by itself, is not a reason for students’ underachievement. Interesting to see is that in Anchonga, where they had used EBI education for a few years, the approval of the parents had increased. Remarkable to see is that the parents interviewed at Rio Blanco that did not have EBI education would like their children to have at least Quechua at school. The parents said that that was the spoken language in the area. When asking about EBI education they did not know what it was and therefore did not know.

In Anchonga the course of action is to use additive bilingualism, to add a second language to the students’ intellectual tool-kit while continuing to develop conceptually and academically in their first language. According to Cummins (2000), this course of action results not only in that maintenance of the first language help students to communicate with parents and grandparents in their families, and increase the collective linguistic competence of the entire society, but it also enhances the intellectual and academic resources of individual bilingual students. The empirical findings support this due to the fact that all of the respondents using EBI education had noticed that the children’s learning ability in all subjects had increased since using EBI education. All of the interviewed teachers using EBI education, except one, did mention that the grades had improved. In the case of Rio Blanco the school uses subtractive bilingualism. That is when a person learns a new language at the expense of the other language. This often occurs when the first spoken language is less looked upon than the other. According to the principal one reason for this action is that the school can not afford schooling in Quechua and he is also of the opinion that it is more important for the pupils to learn English to improve their life opportunities.

Two of the teachers at Rio Blanco said that they would have liked to speak Quechua to be able to have a better contact with some of the students. They both had indigenous backgrounds but had not been taught Quechua at school or at home even though their parents spoke the language. Benson (2004) are of the opinion that most bilingual teachers find that simply by speaking a language that the students and their parents understand, a closer and more understanding, relationship develops. The teachers interviewed in Anchonga all meant that the students’ ability to express themselves was better now than before using monolingual teaching. In addition, the teachers in the area of Anchonga mentioned that the students understood more and were more confident when having bilingual education. This support Cummins (2000) statement, that the development of literacy in two languages entails
linguistic and possibly cognitive advantages for bilingual students. Likewise, Benson (2004) states that there is evidence of benefits such as increased pride in the home language and culture, higher self-esteem, improved girls’ participation, greater classroom interaction, and many other desirable schooling outcomes.

When speaking to the students in Anchonga all said that it was important for them to learn sufficient with Spanish so that they for example could move to the cities when becoming older. The findings also imply that it is important for the parents that their children will have the possibility of a better future than themselves. It is interesting that the headmaster at Rio Blanco said that in the area of Limatambo many parents thought that their children’s daily life would not differ much from their own in the future.

The empirical findings entail that in both the area of Cusco and Anchonga the use of the two different languages differs in different domains. When the pupils communicate in their everyday life such as with family, neighbors and so forth they use Quechua. At Rio Blanco the language is Spanish. The pupils living at the school are not using Quechua at all even though most of them have Quechua as their mother tongue. Harmes and Blanc (2000) discusses that when two languages are in contact in the society, they may be used to a different extent, in different domains and for different functions.

During the interviews at Rio Blanco the teachers said that a lot of the children were embarrassed to speak their mother tongue and some even got bullied when doing so. When speaking to the students some said that they had noticed that some of the students at the school did not like speaking Quechua and one girl who had not stayed at the orphanage a long time said she started to forget Quechua. In Anchonga the use of Spanish was mainly at school and also when visiting the city. Interesting to notice is that in Anchonga, where they used EBI education no one of the respondent mentioned that the children had problems or were ashamed of their background, but during the interviews at Rio Blanco the teachers said that it was a problem that some of the students got bullied and where ashamed when speaking Quechua. Cummins (1981) discusses that especially teenagers have a strong need to identify or belong to a group and if they feel that their language and culture is not accepted by teachers, classmates or the community they hide their background.
5.1.2 Concluding Remarks

The challenges and opportunities of EBI education found during the interviews with the people working in the rural areas are:

- To have an EBI education that works, support from principals and teachers are necessary.
- It is important that the teachers know both languages to start with and on top of that they need to know the method. This is not the reality today, and it is difficult to find bilingual teachers.
- There is also a need of support from non-governmental organizations. To depend on support from non-governmental organization could be a risk if for example the organization decides to work in another area or run out of money.
- When the method is in use, the student’s learning ability in all subjects’ increases and also their self-esteem and on top of that their ability to express them selves is improved.
- One challenge is to make some teachers and parents believe that EBI education is not against the social development of the country.
- All important information is Peru is still only written in Spanish and maybe if complemented in languages such as Quechua the minority language may increase it status.
- It is also of importance to somewhat decrease the parents’ respect for authorities so that the real reason for bad education which is often an unskilled teacher is pinpointed.
- It is also important to make the parents, students and teacher believe in the advantages of EBI education.

Peru is an interesting country with a large part of the population living in poverty, mainly the indigenous. To strengthen the self-esteem of the indigenous people it is imperative to improve their lives and hopefully EBI education can be one tool to make this happen. It is important not to give up the work and history through out the world shows that positive social change can take place. Looking for example at my own grandparents born in the beginning of 19th century in Sweden and the social development Sweden and they went through the last hundred years.
6. Suggestions for Further Research

The issue concerning EBI education in Peru is complex and during the research process and compilation of this thesis, I have found issues that would be interesting to investigate.

- One issue is to investigate how parents could be more involved and get a higher approval of EBI education.

- Another issue is to investigate how the use of different methods could ease the reality of many teachers not managing the languages and the method.

- Also it would be interesting to study the material given by different organizations and analyze the intercultural aspect of the school books.

- To investigate the impact of help from non-governmental organizations in the rural areas would also be of interest.
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